

## FARMER BODY LOSING POWER IN N. DAKOTA

Non-Partisan League May  
Be Overcome by the  
Regulars.

OLD PARTIES UNITE

Townley Candidate for Gov-  
ernor Carried State by  
Only 5,414 Votes.

POWER LOST SINCE 1913

Indorsement of Harding Said  
to Indicate Return of Far-  
mers to G. O. P.

By a Staff Correspondent of THE HERALD.  
FARGO, N. D., Sept. 30.—Two years ago the Non-Partisan League swept the State of North Dakota. It elected its candidates to every administrative office from Governor down. It dominated every commission and department. It captured the Legislature. Then it proceeded, by throwing the constitution of the State into the waste basket and adopting a new one, to fold up North Dakota into a neat, easily handled package and hand it over to Arthur Townley, who conceived, founded, organized and still bosses the Non-Partisan League.

Briefly the league took steps to insure its domination in the future. It passed laws (the story of which demands a separate telling) that made the possible return of the routed Republican regulars of small consequence. To be sure many of these laws were excellent, many of them were based upon public demand and immediate necessity. There can be no question but that the farmer of North Dakota benefited by the ascendancy of the Non-Partisan League. He was, in fact, the Non-Partisan League. Of course, no law nor the new constitution adopted by the Non-Partisan League was irrevocable. The regulars might come back and repeal all of the new legislation. The question is, would they dare to? The truth is that they would not.

In consequence of the 1918 upheaval the Non-Partisan League became the Republican party of North Dakota—that is, the dominant party. It had drawn its strength from the dominant party, which was the Republican, and has this year indorsed Senator Harding for President and Governor Coolidge for Vice-President. It might not be referred to as a whole souled and joyous indorsement, but such is the case, nevertheless.

**Seemed Certain Winner.**  
Since 1913, however, many things have happened. Reference to them, for they are important, as they provide reasons for what happened this year, will follow. The Non-Partisan League went into the Republican primaries in June, proposing to again sweep the State. Their success seemed so certain that the betting odds on their chances were prohibitive, suggestive of bookmaker figures on Man o' War.

About 20,000 Democrats, having the same political ideas as the regular Republicans and conceding their own party's chances to be little more than non-existent, enrolled in the Republican party and voted in the primaries as Republicans. However, Lynn J. Frazier was renominated by the Non-Partisan League for Governor by the decreased majority (not plurality) of 5,414. J. P. O'Connor sought the nomination on the Democratic ticket, running on an uncompromisingly anti-Non-Partisan League platform, and carried a few more than 5,000 votes. The regular nominees, William Langer, Attorney General of the State and a secessionist from the Townley organization, received 23,941 votes.

The anti-leaguers, noting that they amassed 23,941 more votes than Frazier, and furthermore that the entire vote cast was the largest ever polled in the State, decided to fuse on O'Connor. They insisted that O'Connor's chances of being elected Governor of North Dakota are healthy. Much depends upon the women folk. In the rural districts there are about 77 women to every 100 men, and save for the eastern counties and rural districts, are overwhelmingly Townley.

In the cities—Fargo, Grand Forks, Bismarck—the women outnumber the men in the ratio of 111 to 100.

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Senator, and to insure his defeat sent his friend Frank White into the field against both Gronna and Ladd. Of course, White had no prospects of success, but he managed to divert a discouraging number of votes from Senator Gronna.

Thus did the Non-Partisan League fall far short of its expectations this year in this State. And coupling this loss of ground with the failure of the league to nominate a single executive or administrative official in Minnesota you have the groundwork for the general impression that the league is losing ground here in its stronghold. All told it has slipped back, and the reasons are more numerous than clearly defined.

Infinitely more fascinating and fundamentally more important than the actual results of the primaries here is the object lesson in political philosophy and economic psychology that the North Dakota situation presents. Incidentally a survey of this phase of the matter presents the causes for the failure of the Non-Partisan League to hold its ground.

North Dakota needs money. It needs large credit. If North Dakota were an independent republic, it is entirely conceivable that it might establish itself on the Socialistic lines of the Townley Non-Partisan League and thrive. However, the State is amenable to certain national laws that limit the power of the league to completely autocratize the State.

One of the laws passed by the league created the Bank of North Dakota. The Bank of North Dakota is a State bank enjoying like other State banks here the State guarantee of deposits. But the Non-Partisan League Legislature elected two years ago provided that all public funds must be deposited in the Bank of North Dakota. No other bank—State or national—had a chance of acquiring public funds. At the same time the Legislature decided to float a \$15,000,000 bond issue, with which to carry out its housing, hail insurance, public grain elevator and general cooperative programme. The housing, hail insurance, elevator and cooperative provisions were in demand and doubtless are excellent measures. In themselves they give the public all the best of it.

Conditions which these measures were framed to correct had been existing for years. The wheat fields are the soul and body of North Dakota. Certainly the farmer had been getting a chilly deal at some of the privately owned elevators.

Well, the exclusion from State funds of all banks except the Townley Bank of North Dakota did not please the bankers of that State. There are seven hundred State banks, two hundred national banks and four trust companies here. The Bank of North Dakota was to pay the State 2 per cent. on its money and agreed to loan the same money at 4 per cent. Discrimination, monopoly—and worse—were charged against Townley and Lemke, who, by the way, was rapidly taking over the control of the State, inasmuch as Townley was out organizing other States most of the time.

The Bank of North Dakota managed to borrow a meagre \$1,000,000 on the bonds. It got the money from Non-Partisan League farmers. There was yet \$14,000,000 to be borrowed if the loan and its dependent programme was to be a success. Townley and Lemke went to Chicago, Boston, New York and elsewhere to float the bonds and found themselves in evil repute. They were told the bonds might be excellent investments; that there was nothing against them personally nor against what they represented except in a general feeling of distrust. Outside financiers told them that their representatives in independent banks in North Dakota had issued reports not conducive to the utmost trust in Townley and his associates. They shook their heads politely and Townley and Lemke sold no bonds.

Immediately the Leaguers started reprisals. They went about the State enlisting upon depositors to withdraw their moneys from the national and independent State banks and deposit it in the Bank of North Dakota. They preached—and only incidental to the bank issue, by the way—the boycott of city folks and city merchants and all people unfriendly to the Non-Partisan League. Very few farmers and merchants obeyed, but the moral effect was demoralizing.

## WILSON WET POLICY RENOUNCED BY COX

Becomes Drier and Drier as He  
Crosses Arid Plains of Pro-  
hibition Kansas.

MEXICAN PROBLEM UP

Candidate Would Not Protect  
'Adventurers Who Go Into  
a Hornets' Nest.'

By a Staff Correspondent of THE HERALD.  
WICHITA, Kan., Sept. 30.—Carrie Nation with her hatchet never stirred this State of grasshoppers and sunflowers to such a pitch on prohibition as did Gov. Cox to-day in his swing through Kansas. Everywhere the Democratic Presidential nominee spoke, particularly in Hutchinson and Newton and at Wichita to-night, in what seemed more like open forums than campaign rallies, he was bombarded by questions regarding his stand on the liquor issue in comparison with that of his Republican opponent, Senator Harding.

In the role of a crusader appealing to the church folk to support him as the exponent of everlasting peace, Gov. Cox took a more direct stand than ever before. He dwelt on the subject at every meeting. He came out with flat footed approval of Senator Harding's course in voting for the submission of the Eighteenth Amendment to the States and overrode the veto of President Wilson on the Volstead act.

At the same time he undertook to cut loose from his candidacy some of the burden of the Wilson Administration, when questioned, to defend President Wilson's veto of the Volstead law.

"My friends," said Gov. Cox, "Wilson is not running for President this year. Cox is running."

This declaration at Newton, a hotbed of Republicanism, brought vigorous applause from the crowd which, most of the way through the speech, had been icy.

"And that," Gov. Cox hastened, "is no disrespect intended to a man who the very moment he passed into the spirit world will take his position in history side by side with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln."

Gov. Cox further declared his opposition to protecting American "adventurers" in Mexico. He contrasted this position with a declaration by Senator Harding that American interests should be protected anywhere and everywhere.

"A few years ago Senator Harding said Mexico would not have peace until she came under our flag." A man in the audience said: "Now he says he would repeat that speech, but substitute spirit for flag."

"I think," Gov. Cox replied, "he made a speech very recently in which he said this: 'What we are going to do to protect American interests anywhere and everywhere.' That meant Mexico."

"It is one thing to talk about protecting an American citizen, no matter where he might be on the face of the earth. That sounds all right. But I believe that when an adventurer goes into a hornet's nest and knows where he is going, the United States ought not to send a brigade of soldiers with him."

Gov. Cox, at Hutchinson, received a note from a newspaper editor asking his stand on the liquor question. This he

sent to the crowd, with the explanation that he had enforced the wet and dry laws of Ohio, closing the backdoors of saloons on Sundays when they never had been closed before, and adding that as President he would enforce the laws of the nation.

"Now that I have answered this question," he continued, "I want to ask a question of the editor, and I want him to print it in his paper: 'Why is he supporting a brewer for President of the United States?'"

Upon this question of Senator Harding's ownership of brewery stock Gov. Cox rode all day, repeating that he had asked it of the editor of the Omaha Bee, who had replied that Senator Harding was not a brewer, but merely the owner of brewery stock, and that it was only a small brewery.

"Did Senator Harding vote three times in the Senate for the prohibition bill?" somebody asked.

"There were thirty-two vetoes in the Senate on the direct and kindred subjects of prohibition," Gov. Cox replied. "He (Senator Harding) voted thirty times wet and twice dry. My friend, before the nominations were made in America the Anti-Saloon League Wayne Wheeler, who is a Republican politician first and a prohibitionist next, said Harding talked wet, but sometimes voted dry. The difference between Harding and Cox was that you never knew where Harding stood and you always knew where Cox stood."

"Under the circumstances," the heckler demanded, "would you vote dry?"

"Under what circumstances?" returned Gov. Cox.

"The same circumstances," the man in the audience replied.

"I would," said Gov. Cox.

This referred to Senator Harding's record vote in the Senate for submission to the States of the Eighteenth Amendment and later to override President Wilson's veto of the Volstead law, based, Mr. Wilson said in his veto message, on the fact that the measure provided not only for the enforcement of constitutional prohibition but for war time prohibition as well, this last held to be unnecessary because of the end of the war.

## DRY CANDIDATE WINS NOMINATION IN JERSEY

TRENTON, N. J., Sept. 30.—Organization candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties were victorious in the State primaries last Tuesday, with few exceptions, it was announced today.

The most conspicuous organization defeat was that of Representative John E. Ramsey by former Assemblyman Randolph Perkins for the Republican nomination in the Sixth Congressional District on a "wet" and "dry" issue. Ramsey was a "wet" advocate.

Of the twelve candidates nominated for Congress six are rated as "wets," five "drys" and one doubtful.

Five women candidates, two Republicans and three Democrats, were nominated for the Legislature from Essex, Ocean, Warren, Bergen and Camden counties.

## H. Y. MAY NOT SEE HARDING.

MAHON, Ohio, Sept. 30.—No meeting has yet been arranged for Senator Harding in New York city, and there is a possibility that he will not speak there at all. This is one of several propositions that are still up in the air. Some time ago October 23 was mentioned tentatively as a possible New York city date for the Senator.

It was learned subsequently that the Democratic National Committee had taken that date and Madison Square Garden for Gov. Cox. According to present arrangements Senator Harding will speak in Buffalo on the night of October 21.



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